

Revisiting the High Profile *English in Action* Teacher Professional Development Program in Bangladesh: Promises, Prospects, and Eventualities¹

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Abstract

The function of donor-sponsored teacher training programs is a commonly observed phenomenon in many English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) countries. Since the mid-1990s, Bangladesh has been in the process of continuing donor-aided teacher training programs for English teachers (Rahman et al., 2019). *English in Action* (EIA) was the latest attempt to train teachers so that they could conduct interactive English classes. Yet, the outcome of EIA is also depressing, as reported by so many studies (Anwaruddin, 2017; Hamid, 2010; Hamid & Erling, 2016; Rahman, 2015). The current study intends to launch a unique investigation into the support and arrangement of the EIA training program to develop English teachers professionally. Additionally, the present study highlights the inconsistencies prevailing in the EIA training program. The study harnesses integrated approaches to teacher development (TD) by Hargreaves and Fullan (1992), professional development model by Zein (2017), organized hypocrisy (OH) theory by Lipson and Weaver (2008), and stakeholder theory by Chu et al. (2013). A semi-structured interview with eight teachers was carried out. The findings revealed that EIA engaged teachers in diverse activities. Moreover, it has created a new identity for the teachers 'as facilitators'. Additionally, the study divulges various inconsistencies associated with this £50 million training program. The present study could act as an eye-opener for national policymakers such as the Ministry of Education in Bangladesh.

Resumen

La función de los programas de formación de profesores patrocinados por donantes es un fenómeno comúnmente observado en muchos países de ISL (inglés como segunda lengua) y ILE (inglés como lengua extranjera). Desde mediados de la década de 1990, Bangladesh ha estado en proceso de continuar con los programas de formación de profesores de inglés con la ayuda de donantes. *English in Action* (EIA) fue el último intento de capacitar a los maestros para que pudieran realizar clases interactivas de inglés. Sin embargo, el resultado de EIA es deprimente, según muchos estudios (Anwaruddin, 2017; Hamid, 2010; Hamid & Erling, 2016; Rahman, 2015). El estudio actual lanzó una investigación única sobre el apoyo y la organización del programa de capacitación EIA. Además, el presente estudio destacó las inconsistencias que prevalecen en el programa de capacitación de EIA. El estudio aprovechó los enfoques integrados para el desarrollo profesional docente (DP) de Hargreaves y Fullan (1992), el modelo de Desarrollo Profesional de Zein (2017), la teoría de la hipocresía organizada (OH) de Lipson y Weaver (2008) y la teoría de las partes interesadas de Chu et al. (2013). Se realizó una entrevista semiestructurada con ocho profesores. Los hallazgos sugirieron que la EIA involucró a los maestros en diversas actividades y creó una nueva identidad para los profesores. Además, el estudio divulgó varias inconsistencias asociadas con este programa de capacitación de £ 50 millones. El presente estudio sirvió como una revelación para los responsables de la formulación de políticas nacionales, como el Ministerio de Educación.

Introduction

Teacher development programs have been studied widely around the world, especially in developing countries, where the prevalence of various factors that preclude teachers from activating what they have learned from the teacher education programs remains at the focal point of extensive discussions (e.g., Al Hazmi, 2003; Anwaruddin, 2018; Hamid & Erling, 2016; Liyanage & Bartlett, 2008;). These discussions, regardless of pre-service or in-service teacher education programs, have strong, direct implications on the facilitation and development of teachers' knowledge, cognition, and classroom practices (Borg, 2003; 2006; Karim et al., 2018a; Karim et al., 2020; Peacock, 2009). This is mainly because what a teacher knows, thinks, and practices "should influence how they teach and what students learn" (Gess-Newsome, 2015, p. 38). Any kind of planning activity on teacher development programs should, therefore, encompass this principle.

It is worth mentioning that teacher development programs are usually planned, organized, and funded by government entities or private institutions and stakeholders, who also act as sponsors or donors. Previous

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studies have shown the shortcomings of training programs that were funded or sponsored by different donors due to many reasons, including inadequate allocation of funding and incompetent trainers (e.g., Bashiruddin & Qayyum, 2014; Bagnole & Anderson, 1995; Kaplan et al., 2011; Nguyen, 2017). Additionally, scholars argued and questioned the sustainability of donor-aided training programs (Anwaruddin, 2017; Hamid, 2010; Hamid & Erling, 2016). The current study, with Bangladesh as the context, attempts a closer examination of diverse aspects of a nine-year teacher training program for primary-and-secondary-level English language teachers in Bangladesh.

Since its inception in 1971, Bangladesh — an EFL context as identified by Ali and Walker (2014) — has sought to equip citizens with English proficiency in oral and written form (Karim et al., 2018b; Karim et al., 2019a; Karim & Mohamed, 2019). In other words, the polity perceived English considering its intrinsic and extrinsic values for developing a nation (Karim et al., 2021). Pertinently, the country has witnessed several revisions concerning the education policy since its independence (Rahman, 2015). In particular, the collective emphasis has been exerted on training English language teachers. Generally, secondary teachers have to be qualified with a bachelor's degree. Teacher candidates are not required to have professional degrees such as a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) or M.Ed. before entering the profession (Anwaruddin & Pervin, 2015). Teachers are selected through nationwide standardized examinations such as the Bangladesh Civil Service and Non-Government Teachers' Registration Examination. Although these examinations aim to recruit competent teachers, they end up selecting candidates who have good command over subject-specific content knowledge, not over pedagogical knowledge (Anwaruddin & Pervin, 2015). However, after joining schools, they are required to complete a B.Ed., one-year program (Hamid, 2010), offered by Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs). The education policy perceived the idea that training is an integral and crucial initiative to produce competent users of English. Proficient Bangladeshis, inevitably, would later become significant contributors to Bangladesh's national economy, as well as the global economy in the form of the intelligible and efficient workforce in different sectors and services. However, TTCs have a limitation that concerns the components of the training programs, which have been designed for English teachers (Hamid, 2010). For instance, according to Malek et al. (2009), TTCs follow an obsolete curriculum, and it concentrates on theoretical knowledge and does not address the practical needs of the English teachers. Surprisingly, only 5% of the curriculum is related to English in TTCs (Hamid, 2010). With the above educational policy and trends in mind and the limitation embedded in TTCs' curriculum, the country allows the donor-sponsored training programs to bridge the knowledge-gap yielded by TTCs.

The donors from different countries attempted to equip Bangladeshi teachers with the ability to implement Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in their English classrooms. This was introduced in the secondary English curriculum in 1996 by the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) in Bangladesh (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014). According to Richards (2006), the idea of CLT is embedded in designing the activities that generally open an avenue for practicing the language within a real communicative context, where the learners usually exchange real information, and where one cannot predict the language in use. Richards and Rogers (2001) highlighted the benefits of CLT by explaining that it unequivocally draws attention to reading, writing, listening, and speaking that is perceived as effective for fostering the communicative competence of the learners. However, the country observed no difference in students' communicative competence even two decades after the introduction of CLT in the curriculum because of teachers' unpreparedness concerning the implementation of this approach in classrooms (Rahman & Pandian, 2018). Inadequate training of English teachers has been claimed as one of the pressing reasons for the implementation of CLT (Ali & Walker, 2014; Hamid, 2010; Rahman et al., 2019; Rahman & Pandian, 2018). For that reason, the country welcomes donors to sponsor training programs for teachers to equip them with the knowledge to employ communicative activities in the classroom (Karim & Mohamed, 2019).

The Department for International Development (DfID), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), World Bank, and Asian Development Bank (ADB) at different times sponsored training programs for English teachers (Rahman et al., 2019). The ELTIP (English Language Teaching Improvement Project), SEQAEP (Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project), TQI-SEP (Teaching Quality Improvement in Secondary Education Project), ETTE (English for Teaching, Teaching for English), and EIA (English in Action) were considered as the prime projects by the donors in this case (Karim & Mohamed, 2019; Rahman et al., 2019).

In 2008, EIA was devised in Bangladesh to empower the citizens of Bangladesh with English language proficiency. This training program gained financial support from UK aid on behalf of the Department for International Development (DfID) and was implemented by the Government of Bangladesh (Rahman &

Rahman, 2012; Seargeant & Erling, 2011). Karim & Mohamed, 2019) documented that an association of partners such as Cambridge Education (Lead), BBC Media Action, The Open University, UK, and two Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) of Bangladesh, Underprivileged Children's Educational Program (UCEP) and Friends in Village Development Bangladesh (FIVDB), were striving to achieve communicative competence in the English language for 7 million students. They provided training for 51,000 teachers between the years 2008 and 2017. An amount of £50 million was spent to operate the training programs. *English in Action* was the last donor-sponsored teacher development program in Bangladesh. Thus, this program is the focus of this current study.

The Problem Statement

The previous studies expressed concerns regarding the impact that donor-funded teacher training programs have had (or not had) on the teachers (Ali & Walker, 2014; Anwaruddin, 2016; Hamid, 2010; Hamid & Erling, 2016; Hassan, 2013; Karim & Mohamed, 2019; Malek et al., 2009; Raihan, 2011;). An issue is the incomplete knowledge transfer by the training programs that did not enable teachers to yield communicative classrooms. Even after attending the training programs, teachers were found to carry out lecture-oriented English classes (Teaching Quality Improvement in Secondary Education Project, 2007; Chowdhury & Ha, 2008; Hamid, 2010; Hamid & Baldauf, 2008; Al Amin & Greenwood, 2018; Karim & Mohamed, 2019). Rahman (2015) and Rahman and Akter (2015) documented similar findings, with an illustration that EIA-trained teachers were unable to demonstrate practices that would lead to interactive English language learning, particularly in engaging learners in meaningful learning.

However, in a report entitled "Teachers' voices – Capturing the dynamics of change" published by the Cambridge Education website (*English in Action*, 2017), EIA has convincingly highlighted the success stories of its training program in regards to how the trainee-teachers could efficiently implement their learned skills in the classroom. Such an advertisement naturally induces scholars to maintain a crucial reservation in this regard. That is, there was no unbiased observation or validation of these 'successes' as claimed by EIA. No factual evidence is found on the extent of success-failure and problem-prospects of whatever happened in the English classrooms. In this way, EIA has been engaged in a sort of post-truth activity – where a manipulated make-believe situation has been imposed in the name of reality (O. Hamid, personal communication; 22 February, 2018). Hamid's accounts hold importance to us because of his professional connection with EIA and his encompassment about EIA in multiple studies, e.g., Hamid (2010), Hamid and Erling (2016).

Concerning the knowledge base imparted by EIA, Karim et al. (2017) reported that EIA offered training with mobile learning yet, it did not empower the teachers with training on mobile learning and technology integration. Ultimately, the practical orientation to mobile technologies for preparing mobile lesson plans, micro-teaching mobile lessons, incorporating these lessons in the classes, yielding the reflections on mobile lessons, contriving mobilized curriculum, and incorporating mobile + pedagogy = mobagogy (Schuck et al., 2013) remained unexplored in the EIA training program. Consequently, limited knowledge about technology integration in the classrooms inhibited teachers to employ audiovisual aids in the classrooms (Karim & Mohamed, 2019). Therefore, the success of these training programs in achieving the stipulated aim and subsequently, the sustainability of these remained unclear, lacking any concrete solutions on their part. On top of that, the prevalence of such a reality naturally raises the critical questions: "Did the EIA training program cater to the teachers' needs and enrich their existing knowledge-base?"

The Study

Building on the aforementioned problems, the current study strives to understand how the EIA training program attempted to develop new knowledge and skills for teachers that would contribute to their professional development. Precisely, we intended to understand EIA's overall arrangement and support system from the experience of the teachers who participated in the training program. This study also intends to report the inconsistencies (if any) prevailing in the EIA training program. A careful inspection of the above tenets would render a diverse and comprehensive understanding of the EIA training program as well as the sustainability of such a training program. The pertinent research questions for this study are the following:

1. How did the EIA training program conceive teachers' professional development?
2. What are the inconsistencies (if any) associated with the EIA training program?

The previous researchers, e.g., Anwaruddin (2016; 2017; 2018); Hamid (2010), Hamid and Erling (2016); and Karim et al. (2019b), created the impetus for us to conduct the study. A commonly observed practice

of investigating donor-sponsored projects is that experts from donor countries usually carry out the investigation (Brumfit, 1983, as cited in Karim & Mohamed, 2019). It is seen that most of the aid agencies take the 'easy route in providing an account to the public at the home of the results of their interventions in the education field – by deciphering their successes in numbers (Riddell & Niño-Zarazúa, 2016). Sometimes they claim their simple sound-bites achievements, which demands further investigation to examine the achievement in reality. We also claim that sometimes donors assign paid local researchers to evaluate the outcome of the donor-sponsored training programs, who have been content with the tendency to focus on success stories. On that account, Riddell and Niño-Zarazúa (2016) exemplified that the largest multi-donor funded education program, the Global Partnership for Education (GPE, formerly known as the Fast-Track Initiative or FTI) claims that countries receiving support from the GPE perform better in all basic education indicators than countries receiving no Partnership support, implying that 'their' foreign aid has 'worked'. Such evaluation has also prevailed in Bangladesh. Generally, when experts are assigned by donor countries to investigate their projects, it is seen that they tend to hold local stakeholders responsible for any failure, and rarely do they have the tendency to hold themselves accountable for any inconvenience (Anwaruddin, 2016; Hamid, 2010). Besides, it is often claimed that foreign assistance produces less or no improvement to receiving nations (Chan & Chung, 2015). Worried about such mixed observations, Hamid (2010) called for critical inquiries into the training program to be conducted by independent researchers of the polity where the training takes place. As such, the current study was undertaken.

An Overview of EIA

EIA was the last donor-sponsored training program in Bangladesh that continued its function from 2008 to 2017. Emphasizing the integration of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) into classroom teaching and teachers' professional development activities, the project capitalized on school-based professional development training using ICTs (Anwaruddin, 2017). The EIA website does not contain any specific information about the objectives of these programs. Therefore published scholarly articles have been explored in which the objectives were reported. These are outlined below:

- a. The first objective concerns introducing English teachers to the communicative activities through training so that a change can be observed in their classroom practices in secondary schools (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014; Shohel & Banks, 2010).
- b. The second objective concerns the dissemination of classroom materials through mobile phones for enabling them to insert communicative activities in the classroom, and eventually, develop students' communicative competence (Rahman & Rahman 2012, as cited in Karim et al., 2019b).
- c. The final objective is related to training English teachers to use technologies and materials so that they can design a more participatory and communicative class (Rahman & Rahman, 2012).

The following principles were embedded in the EIA training program:

- Continuity of support: The participant teachers of this training program were entitled to receive training over a long period.
- A school-based approach: EIA perceived school as a suitable place for imparting training and committed to holding the training in school, with the belief that school-based support would have been more instrumental to the teachers (Shrestha, 2012).

EIA's support concerns School-Based Professional Development (SBPD). The SBPD involved mobile phones, which were popularly known as a 'trainer in your pocket' (Walsh et al., 2013), and included audio and video resources that were relevant to classroom practices. In addition, battery-powered speakers were presented to the teachers along with mobile phones so that teachers would be able to use audio resources (Karim & Mohamed, 2019). Moreover, a teacher guide was designed covering 12 CLT modules, including, active learning, choral dialogues, listening and responding, information gaps, pronunciation practice, predictive listening, role play, songs for language practice, using visuals, creative writing, listening to the world, and grammar games (Karim et al., 2019). Each of the modules focused on a particular activity to be performed in a secondary classroom (Shohel & Banks, 2012). The fundamental concerns of the modules are demonstrating the activities, exploring the principles that support the activities, and encouraging the teachers to adopt and adapt these in the classrooms. After the completion of the 12 modules and the acquisition of the mastery of these, the secondary school English language teachers were able to implement certain communicative activities in the classrooms.

Teachers from the same school worked in pairs for supporting and promoting learning opportunities. It was perceived that learning did not necessarily require external educators or trainers as other programs do. This was one aspect of EIA's support system. The program also recruited Teacher Facilitators (TFs) who were

practicing teachers in schools situated in the Upazilla (Sub-district, a smaller administrative region than district) for assisting the teachers who were immersed in the EIA training program. In the presence of the TF, every teacher performed his/her lesson every month, and the TF delivered constructive feedback in which the CLT activities were scrutinized, critically analyzed, and discussed.

To sum up, two-layer support for the teachers was documented in the EIA training program, e.g., in-school support and beyond-school support (Power et al., 2012). The in-school support acquainted teachers with new classroom activities, e.g., pair and group work, role-play, and professional development resources, e.g., teacher guide and videos of the interactive classroom. As for beyond classroom support, cluster meetings were held monthly. In these meetings, teachers, in front of TF and peers, shared the experiences and challenges they had undergone when they tried to implement CLT activities into their classroom practices.

Theoretical Framework

Two professional development (PD) frameworks and two related theories were identified as appropriate standards or benchmarks to understand how the EIA training program contrived to develop teachers professionally and to examine the inconsistencies (if any) associated with the EIA training program. Integrated Approaches to TD by Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) and the PD model for teachers by Zein (2017) were incorporated in this study to address our first research question. Organized Hypocrisy Theory (OH) by Lipson and Weaver (2008) and Stakeholder Theory by Chu et al. (2013) were harnessed to address our second research question.

Integrated Approaches to Teacher Development (TD)

Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) identified three approaches associated with teacher development (TD): TD as knowledge and skill development, TD as self-understanding, and TD as ecological change. The first approach concerns TD as knowledge and skill development that emphasizes developing teachers' knowledge and skills through arranging the widespread in-service training for the teachers in order for them to be acquainted with new skills and strategies (Thompson & Holloway, 1997). Thompson and Holloway (1997) added that such knowledge and skills are imposed on the teachers. The perceived benefit of knowledge and skills is associated with the development of teachers' ability to provide improved learning opportunities (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992). The components related to knowledge and skills, as highlighted by Anwaruddin (2016), are confident in teaching subjects, expertise in classroom management, knowledge about different teaching strategies, and the ability to respond to different learning styles. These are identified as essential components for building knowledge and skills (Anwaruddin, 2016). For the successful construction of these aspects, training programs should exert equal priority to these components.

The second approach of TD for self-understanding, according to Hargreaves and Fullan, (1992), indicates the changes that occur to behavior and the person the teacher is, once they complete receiving training or professional development program. Leithwood (1992) added that teachers are required to receive training depending on the needs pertaining to classroom practices, which is expected to bring changes to their attitudes and personality. For instance, an institution can arrange a training program for the teachers subject to the use of technology to promote students' learning. The institution can expect that after the training program, a positive attitude will grow in teachers' minds regarding the use of technology, and consequently, they will deploy technology to facilitate students. In addition, the institution can expect a new identity for its teachers that is shaped by digital literacy imparted in that training program. In contrast, the success of the training program in bringing change to teachers' behavior (i.e., use of technology in the classroom) and identity (which is shaped by digital literacy) might be compromised, if the institution fails to supply the tools required for incorporating technology in teaching and for that, teachers fail to use technology in the classrooms. Thompson and Holloway (1997), by building on Leithwood (1992), highlighted the institutional factors that might negatively affect teachers' behavior and identity even after the completion of training or professional development program. For example, the teachers might be denied a promotion or increment by the institution. In such a case, professional development in relation to a change in behavior and personality will certainly be absent due to discouragement. Again, the expectation of institutions, parents, and administrative bodies might positively or negatively affect the change in teachers' behaviors and identity. For instance, teachers who participated in the EIA training program knew that they had a limited opportunity to apply the knowledge they had received from the training in the classrooms because the school authority and parents demand good marks on examinations, but not communicative competence. Such a perception might impede teachers' professional development because of the teachers' cognizance

about the extent to which they can put received skills or knowledge into practice. As such, Thompson and Holloway (1997) concluded that if institution withdraws commitment (e.g., presenting the teacher(s) with promotion or increment) and support (e.g., promoting the use of technology or promoting teachers' efforts to activate communicative activities in the classrooms), this will have a negative effect on teachers' changing pattern of behavior and identity and this will have an impact on their classroom performance.

The third approach - TD as ecological change – illuminates the idea that process and success are determined by the context in which teacher development takes place. Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) identified some factors that can either contribute to or hinder teacher development. Accelerating teachers' collaboration to enhance support for each other in the context can bring the successful implementation of the educational program, school-fostered improvements, good practice in professional development, and students' achievements (Thompson & Holloway, 1997). In contrast, inadequate resources, the dearth of planning time, poor teacher salary, misallocation of resources, and authoritarian leadership can drastically impede the professional development of teachers (Anwaruddin, 2016). Hence, the ecology in which teachers work may hinder or facilitate their professional development.

These three approaches laid a theoretical foundation for the current study to understand the extent to which EIA has facilitated TD as knowledge and skill development, TD as self-understanding, and TD as ecological change.

Professional Development (PD) model for teachers

To categorize the knowledge base that EIA offered for teachers, the current study adapts Zein's (2017) professional development model. The model highlights the incorporation of four components that yield subtle knowledge for teachers. Knowledge about children's learning styles and strategies, knowledge of children's psychology, knowledge about pedagogy, and contextual knowledge constitute the knowledge base for teachers in the training program. Zein recognized such elements as inevitable in any teacher-training program; particularly knowing how pedagogy is driven by classroom context is an undeniable priority for the teachers. Precisely, knowledge about such components is in the teacher-training program. Hence, Zein's model was used to determine how much the four aforementioned components were taken into consideration in the planning and implementation of EIA. This PD model assisted the current study to understand the kind of knowledge base, through interviewing the trainees, that was/was not included in the EIA training program. Besides, the presence or the absence of any of these components in a training program determines its completeness or incompleteness.

Organized Hypocrisy (OH)

Lipson and Weaver (2008) defined OH as the contradictions or discrepancies prevailing between talk, decisions, and actions, yielded from "inconsistent material and normative ideational pressures on organizations" (p. 4). For international institutions, as they explicate, OH indicates the inconsistency between what any institution commits to doing and what it does in reality. It means that an institution claims certain goals, ideals, and policies, however, it likely fails to put the ideologies and policies in practice, and thus, fails to achieve the goals for which it is in operation. The pressing reasons are concerned with the adverse nature of the political, financial, and cultural environments that might disintegrate the committed functions of the institution (Lipson & Weaver, 2008). OH in international institutions is distinctive. One form of OH is the violation of mandates and policies developed and circulated by the institution. Lipson and Weaver (2008) identified that such kind of organized hypocrisy is observed when the institution violates the environmental and social policies that are designed by the institution to achieve certain goals, indicating the existence of such hypocrisy in the policies undertaken by the organization. Another form of OH is shaped by mainstreaming gaps. It occurs when the organization commits to achieving sustainable development, but it does not allow human and financial resources to comply with this sustainable development. An illustration of this idea that is relevant to this study suggested that by embracing the rapid growth of English as a global language of business and the necessity to work on increasing fluency in English, EIA aims at enabling 25 million Bangladeshi adults (15 million) and school children (10 million) to improve their English language skills to access better economic and social opportunities. Thus, EIA has perceived that providing 51,000 teachers with training would power this sustainable attainment. And if EIA failed to reach and train 51,000 teachers properly, the sustainable attainment would be difficult to declare.

In an institution, OH may arise from any of these categorizations. OH was utilized to determine the kinds of hypocrisies attached to the EIA training program.

Stakeholder Theory

Stakeholder theory suggests that organizations publish their functional information in the public domain so that stakeholders can be cognizant about organizations' activities (Chu et al., 2013). It is important for organizations to be held accountable, and accordingly, disclose financial and non-financial information. The negative perception of the stakeholder may harm the existence of the organization. In a nutshell, when organizations become reluctant to disclose their functions or activities, regardless of their financial and non-financial nature, their existence in the context becomes vulnerable and may lead to stakeholders' misconceptions about the organization. The implication of this theory in this study suggests that it would assist the researchers in examining whether or not the EIA training program publicly reported its inconsistencies (if any) and thereby, maintained its accountability.

Method of the Study

The Researchers and the Study

The authors of the current study are immersed in research in the fields of teacher education, teacher professional development, and teacher training programs in Malaysia and Bangladesh. In Bangladesh, we observed that teacher training or teacher professional development programs exhibit limited success in bringing changes in teachers' classroom practices. It is also evident in the studies, e.g., Hassan (2013), Rahman and Akter (2015), and Shrestha (2012), that even after the training or professional development programs, teachers tend to maintain their previous practice of teaching. They continue lecture-based classes, which contrasts with the mandate and knowledge imparted by the training or professional development programs. Most of the studies, e.g., Al Amin and Greenwood (2018), Hassan (2013), Hamid and Erling (2016), Karim and Mohamed (2019), Rahman and Akter (2015), and Shrestha (2012), concerning the EIA training programs, claimed little or no success in terms of implementing received knowledge in the classroom practices, meaning that these researchers focus on the outcome of the training or professional development programs. We believe that the root cause might be associated with EIA's inadequate support to develop teachers professionally. With such a stance, we strived to investigate how EIA planned to develop teachers professionally.

Research Design

A qualitative inquiry was needed to address the research questions of this study as it allowed us to approach a problem from a critical, in-depth perspective that eventually enabled us to understand the phenomenon of the EIA training program from the perspectives of the participants (Cresswell & Poth, 2017).

The two research questions that guided the current study were explorative, interpretive, and phenomenological, and they familiarized the researchers with the phenomenon under investigation, yielding a better understanding of teachers' learning experiences during the EIA training program (Babbie, 2013).

We considered a phenomenological approach by following Creswell and Poth's (2017) elaboration that this approach engenders a description of the experience of a particular event. It enabled the researchers to explore the lived experiences of participants. Taking these views into account, we intended to describe the EIA training program's support to develop teachers professionally by interviewing a group of individuals who had been immersed in the program. Furthermore, Gay et al. (2011) viewed that this approach is effective for learning the experience of activity from the perspectives of the participants. In the present study, the authors explored the overall experience of EIA's professional development program (outcome) which is reported from the perspectives of the teachers who underwent the EIA training program (the activity). The experience of how EIA has developed teachers professionally, the fundamental aim of this study, varied from individual to individual. Regarding support, arrangement, and learning of the EIA training program, an individual had a different account that provided us with the essence of the training program. With these illustrations, we were able to trace the inconsistencies attached to the EIA training program. Two examples of interview questions are: "Where was the training program held?" and "What types of activities were you engaged in throughout the EIA training program?". Not only did it shape the answer to the first research question, but it also provided us with a comprehensive understanding of the second research question. This was because when teachers explained the venue and activities of the EIA training program, it informed us about what EIA did in reality for the trainees as well as the inconsistencies. Finally, we performed a document analysis on what EIA committed to offering for the participants.

Sample

In the current study, the research population comprised secondary-school English teachers from rural and urban settings who had participated in the EIA training program. The purposive sampling technique, which is a deliberate intervention on the sampling process (Cohen et al., 2013), was administered to identify the samples for this study (see Table 1). Four EIA-intervened schools were chosen to conduct a semi-structured interview with the teachers, encompassing both the rural (Brahmanbaria) and urban (Dhaka) areas. The schools were selected based on their accessibility; they were the same in standard in their respective contexts. It means that all the four schools follow the curriculum suggested by NCTB, adopt Bangla as the medium of instruction, and practice the same teacher recruitment procedures set by Intermediate and Secondary Education Boards, Bangladesh. Participants with a minimum 10 years of teaching experience were selected because they received training from the EIA program and were content with the experience of participating in other donor-aided programs. Consequently, the senior teachers at the schools were identified as the sample for the current study.

A sample of eight teachers was selected for the study. This was based on Van Manen's (2002) suggestion that a sample size within the range of six to twelve is adequate for explicating the meaning of a phenomenon under study and Creswell's (2013) recommendation to conduct a phenomenological study with three to ten cases. Participants were identified as T-1, T-2, T-3.... T-8.

School Code	Teacher Code & Gender	Educational Qualification	Experience	Training Participated
A- Urban	T1 (Male)	MA in English Literature	12 Years	EIA, ELTIP
A- Urban	T2 (Female)	MA in ELT	10 Years	EIA, ELTIP
B- Rural	T3 (Female)	MA in English Literature	23 Years	ELTIP, EIA
B- Rural	T4 (Male)	MA in ELT	14 Years	EIA, CPD-1, ELTIP
C- Urban	T5 (Female)	BA in English	15 Years	EIA, ELTIP
C- Urban	T6 (Male)	BA (Pass)	21 Years	EIA, ELTIP,
D- Rural	T7 (Female)	BA in English	24 Years	EIA, CPD-1
D- Rural	T8 (Male)	BA in English	10 Years	EIA, ELTIP

Table 1: Demographic information of the participants

Ethical Considerations

We gained access to the schools by having verbal consent from the headteachers (in other words, headmasters), which is a common practice in this context (Numanee et al., 2020), to interview the participant teachers. We informed the participants about the purpose of the study, how the findings of the study will be disseminated, what their rights were, their choice to withdraw from the study, how they will benefit from the study, the guarantee of anonymity and the confidentiality of the study, as indicated by Creswell and Poth (2017). With all these being informed, our participants expressed consent for participating in the current study.

Instruments, Data Analysis and Data Interpretation

The main instrument for this study was a semi-structured interview as recommended by Creswell (2005). The semi-structured interview yielded a critical, in-depth perspective that eventually enabled the researchers to understand the phenomenon of the EIA training program – concerning its support to develop teachers professionally – from the perspectives of the participants. We recorded the interviews, transcribed the data, and had the data cross-checked by the participants, which is a process that is used to establish the validity and credibility of the qualitative study (Creswell & Poth, 2017).

This study also incorporated document analysis to embrace the knowledge base imparted in the EIA training program and its circulated success stories, and to contribute to the triangulation of data (Punch, 2005). To accomplish the document analysis, we accessed the EIA website to analyze the knowledge base that EIA

claimed to impart and the success stories of teachers⁷. We examined and identified statements, pictures, videos, and other related artifacts from the website that portrayed: (i) how EIA trained the teachers (knowledgebase imparted in the training program) and; (ii) what teachers gained from the training (documented in the form of the success stories).

The research questions guided data collection procedures and analysis. After transcribing the interview data, these were coded and analyzed to generate themes. We scanned the transcripts repeatedly for recurring themes (Cresswell & Poth, 2017). The table in the Appendix gives detailed information about how we extracted the codes and themes, in relation to the research questions.

Findings of the Study

The current study attempted to understand the phenomenon of how EIA developed teachers professionally. In addition, it also embarked on identifying the inconsistencies (if any) associated with the EIA training program. The findings concerning the first research question of the study are presented based on teachers' professional development, i.e., knowledge and skills development, self-understanding, and so on. The findings related to the second research question are reported based on the diverse inconsistencies, which fall under organized hypocrisy theory and stakeholder theory.

Research Question 1

The first research question is related to the aim of the EIA training program to develop teachers professionally. To obtain the answer to this, we designed interview questions that shed light on EIA's effort to develop knowledge, skills, and self-understanding of the teachers. In addition, we attempted to elicit comments from teachers regarding the support they received from the EIA training program.

Activities conducted in EIA training program to develop teachers' knowledge and skills

Participants stated the different kinds of activities they underwent at the EIA training sessions and gained new ideas, knowledge, and skills.

A. Group work and pair work focused

The interviews delineated that teachers had participated in pair work and group work throughout the EIA training program. For instance, T1 stated,

I was engaged in pair work and group work. Trainers let us perform textbook-related activities that require group work and pair work. Being in groups and pairs, we performed different activities.

Likewise, T2, T3, T4, T5, and T6 accorded that they were engaged in pair work and group work related to activities designed in the textbook. T7 emphasized that,

Pair work and group work were done to show us how the group and pair work should be carried out in the classroom. Moreover, we discussed several challenges and probable solutions through group and pair work.

In a reflective report published in the EIA website, one teacher concurs how the EIA program "always encourages teachers to take part in pair work as well as to share and/or reflect on their classroom practice, challenges, and success with their partners" (*Success Stories*, <http://www.eiabd.com/publications/success-stories.html>). It is understood from the interviews and the document analysis above that EIA had strongly emphasized equipping teachers with the ability to introduce group work and pair work in their classroom practices, given the aim was to train teachers to incorporate them in their classes.

a. Group discussion

Group discussion was identified as one of the prominent activities arranged by the EIA training program as most of the participants responded that they had been engaged in group discussions. According to T2,

I was engaged in a group discussion in the training program to recover the problems I generally witness in the classroom.

T3 indicated that numerous English language teaching-related issues had transpired and therefore, the group discussions were "done to solve a lot of pedagogical issues." T5, T6, and T7 related similar experiences as well.

⁷ <http://www.eiabd.com/eia/index.php/secondary-materials> and <https://www.eiabd.com/publications/success-stories.html> are the relevant links that inform detailed information of EIA training program.

The success stories of the teachers (published on the EIA website) corresponded to the findings of the current study. It described how teachers, in collaboration and through discussions, designed lesson plans, prepared classroom aids, discussed with their colleagues, and received constructive feedback. Teachers made changes to their teaching practice by following a “learning-by-doing” process (see-plan-practice-do-reflect-share). They watched video content prepared by EIA, which showed new techniques on their mobile phones. Teachers helped each other plan how they could apply the new techniques in their regular lessons. Teachers then used the techniques in their regular lessons. In the success stories that have been made public, it is documented that they reflected on the experience of using new techniques and shared experiences, ideas, and learning with another teacher (<http://www.eiabd.com/publications/success-stories.html>). It appeared that the EIA training program successfully initiated group discussions that prioritized sharing of experiences and problems, discussions, reflection, and solving of problems that were related to their responsibilities as teachers.

b. Games and puzzles

Almost half of the participating teachers mentioned that they were engaged in various games and puzzles throughout the training program. For example, T-5 articulated,

Games and puzzles diminished my burnout since I activated games and puzzles in the classroom. Eventually, my students learned various grammatical rules through these.

In a reflective report published on the EIA website, one teacher recollected how the EIA program facilitated the teaching of grammar “through playing various games instead of memorizing hard and fast rules of it” (*Success Stories*, <http://www.eiabd.com/publications/success-stories.html>).

c. Presentations

Teachers also mentioned that they were asked to prepare and deliver presentations during the training program “on any topic in front of the trainer”, which was done to show them how they should deliver feedback on pupils’ verbal performance (T4). This emphasis on ‘presentations’ and ‘group presentations’ was a result of a baseline study on existing training that was done prior to the EIA project (please see English in Action Baseline Study 5, 2009).

Apart from these, EIA also developed supplementary materials to enable the teachers to acquaint themselves with a vast range of learning activities. Guide for secondary school teachers, audio and video resources for professional development, interactive audio lessons for classroom, posters, English language for teachers’ audio resources, and workbook were designed to develop teachers’ knowledge base regarding the various learning activities (please see: <http://www.eiabd.com/eia/index.php/secondary-materials>). Precisely, the teacher’s guide contains written directives concerning different ways to teach reading, writing, listening, and speaking lessons. To complement the contents of the teacher guide, professional development audio, and video materials were provided within the mobile phones that EIA distributed among the teachers. Audio materials for secondary school have been developed, in line with the *English for Today* textbook for Classes 6 to 10, and comprise several classroom activities, songs, poems, and stories (please see: <http://www.eiabd.com/eia/index.php/secondary-materials>). These audio files are to be played in the classroom via mobile phones and speakers. Furthermore, ‘English Language for Teachers’ audio resources is a self-learning material package that aims towards improving the English language development of teachers. An additional folder features pronunciation and vocabulary learning audios. In short, the supplementary audiovisual materials – imparted through mobile phones – are designed to facilitate teacher’s professional development, including the use of technology for incorporating listening, speaking, and other interactive activities in the classrooms.

Embracing these technology-oriented learning supports for teachers, we questioned teachers whether or not the training of EIA encompassed using technology. Our participants reported that regarding how to access technology for their learning purposes, no guidelines were provided. As such, we could claim that technology-driven knowledge and skills remained in darkness for the teachers, and thus, a knowledge-gap was created. Consequently, teachers showed limited command of technology. EIA indeed deployed mobile phones preloaded with audiovisual resources for the teachers, which contained the demonstration of how to activate different activities in the classrooms. Yet, it was difficult for the teachers to go through the resources, learn, and employ technology for engaging students in various interactive activities in the classrooms, as teachers were not only confined to teaching, but they also had to perform administrative work that increased workload and reduced the time spent on the supplementary materials.

Development of knowledge about the important elements for learning English

Although teachers' responses displayed diversity, most of the teachers viewed pair work, group work, and audio-visual resources as more facilitating for the learners. In particular, T4 pointed out that the incorporation of "pair work, group work, and audio-visual resources" boosted students' learning of English. T6 opined that the presentations done in his classroom developed "learners' speaking ability" and removed "their shyness". On the other hand, T1 believed that the textbook was the most important element for students to learn English because a well-trained and expert teacher, "can properly use all the sections of a chapter [in a textbook] and as a result, students can learn English." Moreover, one of the teachers, as documented in the success stories, articulated how different techniques stimulated students to be active participants in the learning process:

Whenever I apply simple but very effective techniques learned from EIA my students enjoy and they concentrate more on the lessons. Action songs, greeting songs are very effective for warm-up. During the assembly session, they join more spontaneously and make themselves remain active for the whole day if I play action songs and let them do act with those songs. (Success Stories, <http://www.eiabd.com/publications/success-stories.html>).

Regarding effectiveness, participant teachers of this study and teachers featured in the success stories concurred that the EIA-driven knowledge and skills of different techniques have been instrumental in learning English. Concerning the important elements for learning English, our participants highlighted pair work, group work, and audio-visual resources, whereas the teachers featured in the success stories mentioned action songs and greeting songs that require the function of audiovisual aids to be in place. Thus, on one hand, it becomes conspicuous to us that the teachers in both groups are aligned in perceiving the important elements of learning English, as per the knowledge and skills developed through the training program, and on the other hand, we observe an indication that the success stories were the real remarks of the teachers featured on EIA website.

Teachers' self-understanding and English language teaching.

All the respondents confirmed that the EIA training program had diversely remodeled their views of English language teaching. Teachers expressed that EIA widened their focus. As T1 explicated:

Previously, I held the belief that English teaching only concerned teaching grammar, reading, and writing. For elaboration, the fundamental concern of my teaching was equipping students with grammatical rules. However, after attending the training program, I realized that teaching English concerns an equal focus on four language skills. And now I try to integrate the practice of four language skills in my classroom.

Their experiences with EIA have facilitated their acceptance and development of new identities as English language teachers. For instance, T3 views teaching as "more like facilitating" and would rather call herself a "facilitator" rather than "teacher" whose "core responsibility" in a language classroom "is to create an interactive environment" and should start "reducing teacher talking time and increasing students talking time." Quite similarly, T2 has become a believer in making the classroom more "activities-oriented", in which she gives more space "to the students so that they can interact with each other using the target language". Previously, she did not "feel the necessity of learners' spoken English development" but after attending the training program, she "substantially reversed" her views.

T4, T5, T6, and T8 responses denote similar themes as the above, and hence, it can be inferred that the EIA training program has brought dynamic changes in terms of English teachers' ideas and views about their responsibilities in the classroom i.e., more as a facilitator who engages learners in interactive meaningful learning activities that focus on different language skills and abilities. This is also confirmed by publications found in the EIA website that reported,

Observations of Cohort 2 classroom practices show substantial increases in students' active participation and in opportunities to speak and practice the target language. This was achieved by teachers making great efforts to promote and model the use of the target language and organizing increased student participation in lessons. (Positive Change in the Classroom, p. 2, Research Brief, English in Action)

... almost all teachers reported changes in their classroom practice, with an emphasis on communication and frequent use of interactive strategies. (Learning English: Teachers and Students' Perceptions, p. 2, Research Brief, English in Action)

Based on the aforementioned findings, we see that the revised views of our participant teachers are commensurate with the practice of the teachers included in the brief report yielded by EIA. It indicated a change that has been observed in teachers' views about English language teaching, after attending the

training program. Therefore, we can infer that EIA did not present manipulated reports about the changes in teachers' practice. Since our study has unfolded the changes that occurred in terms of teachers' views and beliefs about their responsibilities in a language classroom, we can assume changes in their classroom practices as well.

Knowledge and skill development and ability to reflect on the newly learned elements

All the participants affirmed that they were able to reflect on the newly learned elements in their classroom practices. For instance, T2 feels she is "now able to reflect on the inputs" as part of her classroom practices. T4 concurs that reflecting on the newly learned elements has "changed [his] classroom practices". T6 tries his "best to execute" what he has learned and gained from the EIA training program. The above excerpts seem to suggest that the teachers are confident with what they have gained from EIA and are practicing it. By practicing the new ideas, knowledge, and skills, they can initiate significant and meaningful changes in how English language learning is learned and taught in classrooms. The above is echoed in the success stories. For instance,

Before EIA, like most of the teachers, I was also scared of English because as a hill-tracts tribe English is our third language [sic.]. I thought that English is very hard as a language for communicating. And I used to conduct classes more traditionally, just giving lectures and reading from books without involving students. After being a member of EIA, I learned a much easier, simple, and effective means to help students. By applying those, practicing EL4T, and classroom languages, my classroom situation is now totally changed. (Success Stories, <http://www.eiabd.com/publications/success-stories.html>)

The aforesaid excerpts suggest that the recipients of EIA training have been empowered by the ability to put their received knowledge and skills into practice. Moreover, the teachers in the success stories are already in the process of practicing with newly formed confidence. With such evidence, we can admit that EIA did not present any manipulated, cherry-picked, self-serving, and selective myths in the name of success stories.

Use of the teacher guide, its instrumentality, and limited ecological change

The teacher guide is the core professional development document for the teachers. It is a pedagogical guide, designed by EIA, for the teachers that synchronizes the professional development contents. We attempted to learn whether or not the participants use the teacher guide in the classrooms. Most of the teachers indicated that they used it occasionally. For instance, T5 used the guide occasionally because she had to "focus on completing the syllabus first" and if she were to follow the guide, she "might not be able to complete the syllabus" as she had "to conduct a large class and the class time is very limited". However, when she used the guide, she found it "effective for [her] classroom practice." T6 agreed with T5 that the guide "would be more effective" if he had "the opportunity to use it regularly", but due to "large class size, time limitation and pressure to complete the syllabus", he was unable to do so. Similar responses were also given by T2 and T8. However, T1 admitted that he had never used the guide since the training ended but believed it would be good to use it as it facilitated good time management.

Seven of the teachers in this study accepted that the teacher guide could be effective in assisting the teacher to create meaningful learning experiences for their learners. However, the limitation of time and the pressure to complete the syllabus have hindered them from using the teacher guide as often as they would like to. The teachers of grades 9 and 10 put more emphasis on completing and revising the syllabus since the students in these grades are the candidates for Secondary School Certificate examination (a high stakes examination). Ultimately, parents, teachers, students, and school authorities maintain a firm belief that much of their success in the future is highly determined by the result of this examination, and eventually, teachers tend to guide students to be well-prepared for it. On top of that, since the assessment for English in this examination entails reading and writing skills only, the frequent practice of listening and speaking skills remains absent in the classrooms.

The data from the document analysis suggested that the teacher guide was identified as a core professional-development document for the secondary-school teachers, "it is a pedagogical guide for the teachers" that was synchronized with the professional development contents, which guide the teachers in the trajectory of implementing communicative English language teaching in the classrooms.

The pedagogical effectiveness of the teacher guide has been voiced in both our study and success stories. However, none of the data (i.e., interview and document analysis) documented the use of teacher guide in the classrooms. To sum up, no practical operation of the teacher guide was reported due to pedagogical

impediments; yet, EIA claimed it as a catalyst to conduct successful English language classrooms – where Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) shaped the teaching method. It can be concluded, in a way, that EIA did not consider the contextual realities such as pressure to complete the syllabus, limited class-time, or large class-size, when it designed teacher guide.

Teachers' understanding about the support received from EIA

T2, T3, T5, T6, T7, and T8 confirmed that the EIA training program provided sufficient support for them. However, some teachers believed that the program could have been better if additional support in the form of monitoring schools and weekly cluster meetings were organized. T1 reasoned these were necessary because "EIA is trying to reshape the teaching and learning" with the introduction of many new ideas and therefore, teachers would "need continuous follow-up assistance". However, T1 reported that none of the teacher facilitators visited his classes to observe and provide further support even though "EIA committed that they would [do so]". T4 also lamented that "no teacher facilitator has visited and observed my classroom practice". On the other hand, T6 received "good support from EIA" and with such support, he had the "opportunity to implement what EIA taught [him]" that would facilitate his students to be "more equipped with four language skills." T2, T3, T5, T7, and T8 also yielded the similar remarks.

T4, however, questioned the structure and the way EIA was implemented, whereby they only selected "two or three teachers from each school to train". He strongly believes that "training should have been arranged for all" because as it was implemented, "a considerable number of teachers remained out of the training" and hence, there "is a diversity occurring in terms of teaching among the colleagues of the same institution". He explained,

.... in my case, I teach English first paper in section A and my colleague teaches the same paper in section B. I got training. So I am teaching following a different approach. But my colleague did not get training. Subsequently, his approach is different. As such, some students have the opportunity to get engaged in different activities while others do not.

There are pieces of evidence from the EIA website that the program has been very supportive of the teachers involved. For example, in the success stories, one of the teachers clarified,

English in Action is an inclusive program that embraces social dynamics. The team understands that the teachers participating in the program have families and that EIA professional development must fit with this – this is why EIA does not discourage teachers with their children to attend activities such as the workshops. By this, we ensure that it doesn't become a reason to miss the training. (<http://www.eiabd.com/publications/success-stories.html>)

Research Question 2

The present study also intended to explore whether or not the EIA training program had any inconsistency. Based on the document analysis and the excerpts of the respondents, the study reported diverse inconsistencies in the EIA training program. Fundamentally, the inconsistencies, in other words, the irregularities that the present study noted, were observed in terms of the venue chosen to train the teachers, the number of teachers EIA managed to train, and others which are elaborated in the following section.

Inconsistencies associated with EIA's actions

Although the EIA website states that EIA designed a professional school-based teacher development (SBTD) with the belief that "classrooms and schools are the best places for teachers to improve their practices" (<http://www.eiabd.com/about-eia/eia-introduction.html>), participant teachers confirmed that they had to go to another place for three days to participate in the EIA training program. EIA authority accommodated them in a hotel. The training was held on three consecutive days from 9 am to 5 pm. Furthermore, the EIA stated it was committed to assigning "teacher facilitators (TFs), especially selected and trained Government teachers who act as facilitators and mentors to the teachers in schools in their locality" (<http://www.eiabd.com/eia-component/secondary-education.html>), and to make supportive visits to teachers in their classrooms (<https://www.eiabd.com/eia-component/secondary-education.html>). The stipulation of this support, entitled as "a school-based approach", was documented clearly on EIA's website (<https://www.eiabd.com/eia-component/secondary-education.html>). However, respondents of the current study confirmed that the teacher facilitator had not visited their classes. Finally, the document analysis also suggested that EIA was able to reach 30,000 teachers (<http://www.eiabd.com>), although it had committed to training 51,000 teachers by the end of 2017 (<http://www.eiabd.com/about-eia/eia-introduction.html>).

Discussion

The discussion of the findings above is based on the theoretical grounds and the iterations of the previous studies that focus on integrated approaches to TD by Hargreaves and Fullan (1992), professional development Model by Zein (2017), OH theory by Lipson and Weaver (2008), and Stakeholder theory by Chu et al. (2013).

EIA was supposed to develop the teachers by enabling them to adopt new skills and strategies that were introduced in the program. The first objective of the EIA training program was to introduce English teachers to communicative activities through training (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014), and bring changes in English teachers' classroom practices in secondary schools (Shohel & Banks, 2010). It was manifestly observed that EIA oriented teachers to the new knowledge and skills (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992) that comprises pair and group work, group discussions, games and puzzles, and presentations and that these have been effective for the English language classrooms. As suggested by the interview data, participant teachers admitted these activities as important for conducting interactive classes. In line with the first objective, EIA was able to accomplish its second objective that also concerned the development of new knowledge and skills through the dissemination of materials and mobile phones so that teachers can accelerate the communicative activities in classrooms. With these being placed, it becomes conspicuous that regarding group and pair work, presentations, games and puzzles, and group discussion, knowledge and skills have been informed to the teachers.

Although the program appears to have a positive impact on the teachers and the teaching of English, most of the ideas and suggestions (such as group work, games, and so on) were not new to them, except for the use of teacher guide and technology. Regarding teachers' knowledge and skill development that rely on the teacher guide or the use of technology in the classroom, the interview data suggested the knowledge base is inadequate. Now, the question is what is wrong with the use of technology in the classroom, given that EIA provided teachers with visual resources on how to integrate technology in the classrooms? The reality associated with this polity, as reported by Hamid (2010), suggested that teachers completing their graduation in English are not solely the ones who teach English in the secondary schools, although the ideal approach should have been assigning teachers who completed their graduation with major in English to teach English. Teachers from other backgrounds, such as history, mathematics, and so on, have also been found to teach English in Bangladesh. This is an issue associated with Bangladeshi ELT since teachers with a specific degree in English are supposed to conduct the English classes. Therefore, encouraging these groups of English teachers to use technology is deemed to be ineffective since these non-English background teachers have not been capable of accessing the visual resources, given by EIA, through self-initiatives. Moreover, most of the English teachers in the secondary schools are busy with tutoring students after school hours in order to earn extra money as their salary is too low to afford a solvent life (Anwaruddin & Pervin, 2015). Therefore, on a factual point, expecting them to develop themselves by watching the demonstrations – stored in the EIA-sponsored mobile phones – of different activities in the classrooms should be illogical.

Moreover, Thompson and Holloway (1997) argued that in teacher training or professional development programs, knowledge and skills are imposed on the teachers, with the expectation that such knowledge and skills are associated with the development of teachers' ability to provide improved learning opportunities (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992). Building on Thompson and Holloway (1997), we can conclude that the use of technology was imposed on the teachers by the authorized EIA personnel, and teachers were not involved in expressing their preferences (Anwaruddin, 2018), although with a positive intention to provide students with improved and technologically advanced learning opportunity through trained teachers. Such practice of EIA, according to Spring (2015) is a form of "culture of prescription" that is usually "manifested in the economically driven instrumental approach in education" (quoted in Rahman, 2017, p. 288), whereby EIA had meticulously followed the ideology of imposing the "dominant center" on the "dominated periphery"—resulting in Scientific Imperialism (Gatlung, 1980, p. 130). Thus, technological determinism, a view that technology is autonomous and has a pre-determined impact on the thoughts, activities, and socio-cultural values of its users, was of foremost importance to the EIA authority. However, focusing on an emerging and timely consensus originated from Europe, Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, Unwin (2005) drew attention to the importance for teachers first to become trained in basic ICT skills that were considered as a prerequisite for ICTs to be used effectively in teacher training. As regards the use of ICTs in teaching and learning, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2002) reported, "for education to reap the full benefits of ICTs in learning, it is essential that pre-service and in-service teachers have basic ICT skills and competencies" (p. 13). Whether or not EIA considered these when planning its

training program is a question. Yet Karim et al. (2017) reported that EIA offered training with mobile learning, yet it did not empower the teachers with the training about mobile learning and technology integration. Riddell and Niño-Zarazúa (2016) ascertained that capacity building is a prime concern of foreign-aid-based programs. Donors have decades-long experience of capacity building and they prone to spend a huge sum of money for this (European Commission, 2006). The problem lies in the manner in which the strategies for capacity building have been designed and implemented (Riddell & Niño-Zarazúa, 2016). Concerning EIA's attempts, whether or not it enabled teachers to experience "hands-on exploration of mobile technologies, developing mobile lesson plans, micro-teaching mobile lessons, enacting mobile lessons in the classroom, reflecting on mobile lessons, planning mobilized curriculum and integrating mobile + pedagogy = mobagogy" (Schuck et al., 2013; p. 53) remains a question that requires further investigation for understanding the sustainability of the knowledge about using a mobile phone that had a popular identity as 'trainer in your pocket'.

The second part of the first objective of EIA was concerned with the changes to be brought about in English teachers' classroom practices. Training incorporates the issues and trends that pertain to the implementation of theory into practice. Yet with the prevalence of multifaceted problems faced by the English teachers in classrooms (see Karim et al., 2019b for details), it became unclear as to how EIA fine-tuned the teachers for bringing changes in their classroom practices. As such, we can see the contrastive nature of the two objectives. The first objective is related to the development of new knowledge and skills by introducing English teachers to communicative activities through training and by disseminating classroom materials through mobile phones so that communicative activities in the classrooms flourish. The second objective is concerned with ecological change (to bring changes in English teachers' classroom practice in secondary schools). This implies that with the newly earned knowledge and skills, teachers could not activate communicative activities in the classrooms. Eventually, the development of the communicative competence of the students has remained unattained.

EIA did not attempt to content teachers with the knowledge of children's psychology. Entwistle (2013) emphasized that children's psychology should be overtly known to the teachers. Zein (2017), therefore, included it in the PD model. Knowledge about pedagogy has not been explored in the EIA training program. EIA solely focuses on orienting technology and equipping teachers with some techniques so that they can yield interactive classrooms. Abbit (2011) explained that it is important to know about technology but the necessity of knowledge about pedagogy is undeniable for teachers. Furthermore, the lack of pedagogical knowledge may limit the teachers use of alternative approaches when technology malfunctions. Also, the teacher may exhibit limited success in understanding what to do in settings that lack technological support. The dearth of pedagogical knowledge may lead teachers to rely solely on technology as the 'savior', and thus, may stop them from applying creative modes of teaching. Eventually, it transforms teachers into superficial identities.

Knowledge about context, which (Adoniou, 2015) said was unavoidable for teachers, was absent in the EIA training program. The donor-driven projects for teacher development programs in Pakistan have also shown limited success to conceive various contextual factors that might be responsible for belittling their impact on teachers (Puett, 2016). Rizvi and Khamis (2020) lamented that the so-called international standardized teacher education models introduced by donor agencies lack considering the contextual factors in designing their initiatives for teacher development. Zein (2017) endorsed that the PD model should include contextual knowledge. Contextual knowledge helps teachers rearrange and reconstruct their teaching strategies as per the demand of situations. To elaborate, in a non-technology context, even in dealing with technology-related issues, a contextually trained teacher would be able to come up with an alternative or creative approaches. But without contextual knowledge, a teacher is bound to embrace failure. EIA could instill the knowledge about context, as Kirkwood (2013) reported that English teachers in secondary schools are content with limited knowledge about the context that may preclude them from activating communicative activities in the classroom.

Furthermore, Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) articulated TD as self-understanding, subsuming the changes in teachers' self-identity after the training program. On this ground, EIA was instrumental to the participants. Interview data suggested that teachers' outlook sufficiently transformed after the training program. For instance, teachers' narratives indicated that they were rid of their isolated focus on teaching grammar and deemed all four skills of language as equally crucial elements to focus on. On top of that, teachers now identified themselves as facilitators and embraced their core responsibility i.e., to create an interactive learning environment, as well as orienting diverse learning activities in their classrooms.

Avoiding lecture-oriented classes was another change generated by the EIA training program. This finding contradicted Anwaruddin's (2016) study that reported no change with regards to teachers' beliefs of the way English should be taught in classrooms. Conversely, the current study sheds light on teachers' behavioral changes in conjunction with their new identities. As for self-understanding, the participants also confirmed that EIA enabled them to reflect on the inputs received in their classroom practices. Although Anwaruddin (2018) claimed that teachers incorporated newly learned elements into their classroom practices reluctantly, teachers' interview data in the present study indicated no reluctance from their parts in this regard.

Hargreaves and Fullan (1992) also shed light on the ecological change in terms of pedagogical environment and other tools which may accelerate or decelerate teaching and learning. EIA has trained teachers but the large size of the class, assessment procedure, etc. have remained unchanged. To illustrate, participant teachers agreed that they were capable of reflecting on newly incorporated materials and strategies. Yet, the reality uncovered by Karim et al. (2019b) showed that factors such as large classroom size, the pressure to complete the syllabus, and lack of time have, in many instances, precluded teachers' implementation of EIA trained strategies into classroom practice. Anwaruddin's (2017) study also highlighted the above and, also, underlined students, parents, and school authority's expectations of students passing with significant scores in the examination. Islam et al. (2021) also reported the limitation of the assessment system that excludes the test of communicative, in other words interactive, competence (listening and speaking). The prevalence of this phenomenon also lowers students' interest to take part in the activities that will surely be absent in the examination

Moreover, EIA inducted two/three teachers from each school to train them. As a result two categories of teachers—EIA participant and non-participant—existed in the EIA-intervened schools. Eventually, English teachers' collaboration with others or their professional support for others may not observe success as some teachers are content with the knowledge of using technology in classrooms while their counterparts (i.e., non-recipients of EIA training) may have little or no idea about the technology for offering improved learning opportunities. This phenomenon may challenge teachers to enhance inclusive support for each other. Understandably, collaboration in terms of introducing a technology-oriented learning environment was inadequately practiced. Thus, the context or ecology was not user-friendly, negatively affecting the implementation of the EIA training program. Similar observations were made by Anwaruddin (2016).

As regards the second research question, the current study reported some inconsistencies in the EIA training program's mandates, which were apparent from the participants' voices and document analysis. According to Anwaruddin (2017), EIA designed school-based support, meaning that the training program was supposed to take place in schools. Shrestha (2012) expounded that the SBT model adopted by EIA planned to impart their initial professional development activity for each teacher starts from a workshop away from school and it conceived the most significant part of their training program to be continued at schools. However, in reality, it was found that it had arranged 3-day long training in separate places, and eventually, removed teachers from their workplaces to participate in the training program. Al Amin and Greenwood (2018) also reported the shortcoming of short course training that remains a challenge for the teachers to translate their new insights into practice. Added to this, EIA committed to sending teacher facilitators to visit the classroom. However, teachers reported that the teacher facilitator had not visited their classes. Such inconsistencies observed in the EIA training program drew our attention to a possible gap between its mandates and practices. Lipson and Weaver (2008) argued that the inconsistency of what an organization claims to offer and what it offers in reality results from the deficits found in the organization's infrastructure. Taking this into account, it can be said that EIA was committed to achieving many things without considering its own capacity.

Furthermore, EIA's aim suggested us a possible gap between its mandates and practices. Initially, they targeted 76,500 teachers for training (Perez-Gore & Burton, 2014). The EIA website also showed the same figure. Suddenly, EIA revised its information on the website and wrote that they aimed to train 51,000 teachers by the end of 2017. Anwaruddin (2018), in contrast, reported that EIA aimed at training 75,000 teachers. Building on Lipson and Weaver (2018), EIA performed OH that entails the violation of its mandate, provided training for 30,000 English teachers despite its declared commitment to training 51,000 teachers. Lipson and Weaver (2018) also shed light on mainstreaming gaps that occur when the organization commits to bringing about sustainable development but does not allow human resources to comply with this sustainable development. EIA aspires to sustainable development in English teaching by providing training for 51,000 teachers, but it left 21,000 teachers untrained, which may negatively affect the sustainable

development that was aimed to accomplish. Al Amin and Greenwood (2018) highlighted that many teachers working at rural schools had no access to training. On that note, Al Amin and Greenwood (2018) commented that the model of teacher training designed by the donors for Bangladesh is arguably unproductive to a system of sustainable teacher development. Pertinently, Hamid and Erling (2016) articulated, "each of these projects had laudable aims and had met limited success" (p. 34). Pakistan, a context that relies on donors' assistance in improving its education sector, also experienced inconsistencies practiced by the donor agencies. The paucity of clearly articulated motives often characterizes the donor-run training programs in Pakistan, which in turn, leads the nation and the donors to grapple with defining whether the goals are achieved or not (Puett, 2016). Shamim (2008) observed the non-sustainable nature of donor-aided projects in this policy, which negatively affects the implementation of the new curriculum.

Moreover, EIA could publish a report by mentioning the rationale for accomplishing limited coverage in terms of the number of teachers it managed to train. The idea of stakeholder theory is embedded in publishing the functional information in the public domain so that stakeholders can be cognizant about the organization's activities (Chu et al., 2013). In line with this reasoning, EIA did not express proper reasoning about why the training was not held in schools. Chu et al. (2013) put forward the idea that when an organization becomes reluctant to disclose their report on their activities, their existence in the context remains subject to vulnerability since stakeholders may develop misconceptions about the organization. On this ground, EIA's reluctance to inform the reasons behind their limited success to achieve laudable aims may notify the stakeholder, i.e., Ministry of Education, not to allow any teacher-training project to be implemented in the polity in the future. Another implication can be, before the implementation phase, concerned government agencies must examine the donors' goals and plans to achieve those goals. And during the implementation phase, the concerned bodies assigned by the government should closely look at how donors translate their objectives into reality. For this to accomplish, after the completion of each cohort, government-initiated program-evaluation should be performed. These processes can see the ground reality if the government can legislate directives for the donor agencies to make them accountable to the government. In Bangladesh, the stance of the government regarding the donor-funded projects, or in other words, the relationship between government and donors is unclear. Considering donors' activities to promote education in Sri Lanka, Wikramanayake (2015) reported the pitfalls enacted to the coordination among different donors. The donor-driven projects often see duplication and overlap. For instance, multiple projects continued with similar goals to achieve. The most compelling issue is that each donor had their relationship with the government. The government often did not have ownership of the program. It means that government either willingly or unintentionally employs none (e.g., government agencies or regulatory bodies) to monitor the plan of the training programs, design of materials and resources to train teachers, continuation of their operation in the polity (Wikramanayake, 2015). Also in Bangladesh, various donor-funded agencies functioned with similar goals (e.g., training primary and secondary school teachers) to achieve. The government's relentless intervention, thus, is necessary for regulating their activities to achieve the aim and objectives. Why are we suggesting this for the recipient government of the donor's aids? Moyo (2009) put forward an argument that this easy money [international aid] offers governments an exit from the contract between them and their electorate: the contract that states that they must provide public goods in exchange for taxes. The foreign support allows the state to abdicate its responsibilities toward its people. On that account, we are uncertain about the stance of the government of Bangladesh. Yet for the country's betterment, we argue for the government to be engaged in monitoring the activities of the donor-sponsored training programs that intend to offer improved teaching and learning opportunities for its citizens.

Conclusion

It is perceived by international donors that a nation can witness its economic development by using their valuable external financial assistance and knowledge sharing (Chan & Chung, 2015). However, what impact effect that foreign donors left on the nation's education sector is a matter of question. Chan and Chung (2015) argued that with increased international aid, the ineffective performance of receiving nations has given birth to a wide range of debates. That is why local researchers' active intervention is necessitated to understand the loopholes that challenge the receiving nation for availing the benefits of donor-funded programs. The current study is motivated by these accounts and intended to learn about the knowledge sharing that EIA did in Bangladesh and the inconsistencies or irregularities practiced by EIA.

Not only did this study reveal diverse implications for Bangladesh, but also for other EFL contexts where donor-sponsored training programs are in operation. The inconsistencies or irregularities regarding what the training program had committed and what they performed became visible in this study. The study drew the

attention of the stakeholders, i.e. the Ministry of Education and National Curriculum and Textbook Board, for the necessity of assigning proper monitoring on donor's activities. Such monitoring can curb the inconsistencies or irregularities of donors' mandates. Furthermore, the present study revealed some inconsistencies—that an EFL context can hardly compensate—exercised by the EIA training program. Addressing such gaps can offer an avenue for teacher development.

Limitation of the Study and Direction for Future Research

In this study, we attempted to learn how EIA managed to develop teachers professionally. We were informed that EIA engaged trainees in different activities and provided them with a large number of supplementary learning materials that required teachers to use technology for exploring these and improving their teaching competence. However, the extent to which EIA contributed to empowering teachers with digital literacy remained unexplored not only in this study but also in the relevant literature. It has been manifestly recommended for future researchers to explore the entire area of digital literacy of the teachers.

The current study harnessed diverse aspects to understand and grasp the actual essence of the training program. The interdisciplinary approach has enabled us to address this issue from wider angles as we undertook four categorical theories in which apart from Hargreaves and Fullan's Teacher Development theory, the Professional Development Model, Organized Hypocrisy theory, and Stakeholder theory are related to the discipline of management. We believe that our effort would allow future researchers to delve into this issue more elaborately through newer interdisciplinary approaches, and thus ensure greater transparency and integrity.

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Appendix
Table Themes and Codes of the Data Analysis

Research Questions	Themes from interview data	Themes from document analysis	Codes from interview data	Codes from document analysis	Inconsistencies subject to donor's mandates
How did the EIA training program continue to develop teachers professionally?	Venues and arrangement		Staying in a hotel; training on three consecutive days from 9 am to 5 pm	SBTD was committed to operating for enabling teachers to acquaint new ways of teaching through interaction between teachers and students; 51000 teachers were aimed to reach, however, only 30000 teachers were provided with the training.	☑
	Activities encompassed in the EIA training program		Focused on group and pair works; group discussion; games and puzzles; presentation	No classroom setting which is mandated through SBTD; No involvement of the students; encourage to participate in pair work to share and/or reflect on their classroom practices, challenges, and success with their partners; learning by doing but in absence of the students	☑
	The perceived important element for learning English		Pair and group works; audiovisual aids; presentations; textbook-based teaching by well-trained and expert teachers	Aids in the form of audio clips, e.g., action and greeting songs for warm-up	×
What are the inconsistencies (if any) associated with the EIA training program?	Reshaping teachers' view of English language teaching		Shift focus from teaching grammar, reading, and writing to equal emphasis on four language skills; developing identity as a facilitator	Adequate focus on students' active participation in the speaking practice in the target language; emphasis on communication and frequent use of interactive strategies	×
	Teachers' opinion regarding the ability to reflect on the inputs		New ideas, knowledge, and skills infused by EIA enabled them to reflect on the inputs in their classroom practices.	Change in classroom practices; easier, simple, and effective means to help students	×
	Use of teacher guide and its instrumentality		Occasional use of teacher guide due to their focus being placed on completing syllabus, yet they admitted its effectiveness for time management	Core professional development document for the teachers	×
	Teachers' opinion regarding the support received		Sufficient support provided by EIA, yet in-school support and cluster meetings have not been continued	EIA committed to assigning TFs to mentor teachers in their locality to assure adequate support; TFs were claimed to assign for visiting the classes to observe teachers' actions and provide further support	☑